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the crown, it is clear enough that in theory, at least, democracy exists only by sufferance.

Mr. Borgeaud has grouped these various classes of constitutions very clearly. His book is a distinct contribution to a comprehension of the meaning and tendencies of modern political science, and he has more wisely handled the whole subject historically. A mere political anatomy is quite as lifeless as any other skeleton of dry bones. Professor Hazen's work, on the whole, has been done with spirit and accuracy. Here and there in the process of translation, back and forth, as might be expected, an occasional odd expression has crept in. Thus on page 153 the lower house of the New York legislature is called the "House of Representatives," instead of the "Assembly." And on pages 153-158 the "Council of Revision" which was provided in the first constitution of the Empire State is called by the peculiarly infelicitous name of "Committee of Amendments." "Whomsoever," on page 189, and "firstly," on page 190, are words which, as a mere matter of English, themselves need a council of revision.

HARRY PRATT JUDSON.

*White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia.* By JAMES CURTIS BALLAGH, A.B. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 13th series, VI.-VII.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1895. Pp. 99.)

THE comprehensive, historic spirit which pervades this pamphlet entitles it to a candid consideration. I think it may be stated with truth that it is the first account approaching completeness of the subject of which it treats. Having pursued a similar line of investigation, I am glad to give the labors of Mr. Ballagh a warm personal endorsement. Some objection attaches, perhaps, to the title he employs; I think "service" is the proper word, and not "servitude," which is only another word for slavery. In most cases the service was based on consent, and Mr. Ballagh himself shows that the law bore harder on the workman in England than in Virginia. Indeed, the Rev. Hugh Jones (1724) asserted this fortunate condition of even the negroes.

The social equality among freemen in Virginia could never have been possible had the idea of slavery once attached to the white laborer afterwards made free. Everybody in the seventeenth century, except the king, was a *servant* in a certain way and, therefore, the term was no reproach. The word "slave" not only described a condition, but conveyed disgrace. It was common to apply the term "servant" to all medical and other apprentices, to all secretaries, factors, and agents, and to all employés in general. "Your obedient, humble servant" is still the language between equals. Theoretically, the severe laws mentioned by Mr. Ballagh, as regulating service in Virginia, applied to all servants, but in the same way now the law punishing murder applies to every person in the

United States. It was the wicked servant who felt the law then, just as it is the wicked person who feels the law now. The heavy expense of transporting a servant made it necessary to secure the master by severe penalties in the enjoyment of his property. There is still another fact explaining the social equality of the whites which Mr. Ballagh does not make conspicuous. Special research in the genealogies of Virginia families shows that while the majority of the servants were, doubtless, of humble rank, many who came over as servants were of "ancient houses"; some born to £1000 a year, and others, brothers and sons of knights and gentlemen who preferred temporary service in Virginia to living in England. Their family pedigrees were often registered in the College of Heralds, in England.

Again, Mr. Ballagh might have dwelt a little more upon another fact which had a great influence on Virginia society,—I mean the free character of the suffrage. The servant stepped at once from service into the arena of political activity. Mr. Ballagh shows that there was never any caste in Virginia, as absurdly declared in some quarters. The laws recognized no distinction among white freemen, and long before 1861 the very memory of servants' indentures had died out in Virginia. The poorest white man had to be socially recognized as "Mr." and there were no white menials as in the North. About the time of the Revolution the plain, middle class constituted more than half the population, as Mr. Ballagh remarks. The real poor whites were, during the eighteenth century, fewer in Virginia, according to Beverley and other writers, than "in any other country in the world." And despite the observation of the "contemporary writer," whom Mr. Ballagh quotes, I am quite sure that even this small poor white class were quite as good as people in a similar station anywhere.

To describe them as a "seculum of overseers," unprincipled and depraved, as Mr. Ballagh's authority does, is unhistoric. The observation of the contemporary writer to whom he refers was made at a time when the slave-owners were beginning to recoil under the reproach of slavery. The slave-owners were glad of the opportunity to shift to the overseers the blame of the harsher features of the administration of slavery. But the fact remains that the proprietors could not afford to employ, in the management of the plantations, other than honest and upright men. The overseer, it is true, was generally a man living on a salary, but he was by no means among the poorest of society. He generally had a fair education, and in later days was often of the family of the slave-owners. It cannot be denied that some of the overseers abused their power, and were harsh and even cruel, but unprincipled men are found the world over. We know that John Adams declared that in Massachusetts the fishermen were "more degraded than slaves." Col. Hudson Muse, of Virginia, drew a startling picture of the poverty of that class under the eaves of Harvard College, while Gerry grumbled that the worst order of men found their way to the Legislature of Massachusetts. This proves

nothing against the society of New England, or against the salient fact that the majority of the people of Massachusetts of all classes, like the people of Virginia, were virtuous, independent, and respectable.

In conclusion, I heartily recommend Mr. Ballagh's paper to all who are interested in the true history of our institutions. It is a model paper, because Mr. Ballagh has only sought to state the truth. It is an able paper, because he has very nearly stated the whole truth.

LYON G. TYLER.

*The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution, with Some Account of the Attitude of France toward the War of Independence.* By CHARLEMAGNE TOWER, JR., LL.D. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1895. Two vols., pp. xi, 494, 537.)

To thousands who possess little acquaintance with the history of the French alliance, the name of La Fayette recalls one of the most familiar and romantic episodes of the war of the American Revolution. Yet Mr. Tower is quite right in saying that "France would have participated in the American Revolution if La Fayette had never existed." His conjecture that La Fayette would probably "have come to America if France had never declared war in our favor," is more open to doubt. The decision of France to espouse the cause of the colonists was in no respect determined by the course of La Fayette. But, though he came to America long before France decided to declare war, his coming is, to a certain extent, to be ascribed to the same causes that led France to take that step. He did not abandon his character as a Frenchman, and he remained a Frenchman to the end.

Nevertheless, the narrative presented in these volumes justifies the popular appreciation of La Fayette's character and motives, and of the value, if not of the precise nature, of his services. From the general mass of foreigners who sought employment in the American army, La Fayette is distinguished by the extent of what he gave, and the smallness of what he demanded. He was not devoid of ambition. Like a true Frenchman, he loved glory, and, as Jefferson said, he had a strong appetite for applause. But, while no mercenary motive entered into his conduct, he was also less governed than were most of his countrymen by the spirit of revenge. Though he was loyal to his king, he was sincerely attached to the principles of liberty. "What delights me most," he writes, immediately after his arrival in America, "is, that all the citizens are brothers." He expatiates upon the "simplicity of manners," the "love of country and of liberty," and the "pleasing equality," which he found among the people.

La Fayette came to America with the idea of helping to found a new state upon the principles of a liberal political and social philosophy. Yet, in estimating his conduct in disregarding the injunction of his king, and the opposition of his family, we must not lose sight of the fact that